horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30 centimeters.

The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not playing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men, and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad," they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite them to go efface their defeat.

The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.

The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview," A synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not they are mixed with asri.

Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers, and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each person takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to alternate men and women. When everyone has arrived, they elect a male president and a female president, whose job is to see that the usages and customs of the ahal are respected and, as a joke, /289/ to inflict forfeits on those who bring on themselves the recriminations of the others. Sometimes only a female president is elected, but never a male president alone.

The presence of several girls in a camp is often sufficient cause for organizing an ahal mixed with asri. The young men come from neighboring camps, always dressed in their dressy clothes. Some of them sometimes come hundreds of kilometers to attend a meeting where they know they will find pretty girls and pleasant distraction. Then one of those present plays the violin. The sourish, plaintive, monotonous sounds which come out of it are quite in harmony with the wild setting made by nature and man. The men accentuate the rhythm by singing "ho ho" on the beat and finally by a hummed accompaniment. And every one jokes and tells broad stories, for the poetic part is often of a very doubtful quality, if not made up of more or less vulgar repartee.

Then the violin is silent, and laughter bursts out on all sides. Men and women make very free contacts and rub noses which is the peculiar form of the Tuareg kiss. These meetings end very late at night, and everyone returns to his camp, not, however, without having made an appointment by a special language of hand gestures to finish these amorous love feasts in a more intimate way.

The mores of the girls are indeed very licentious, so much so that Father de Foucault stated that the word "virginity" did not exit in Tamashek. (1) "There is no question of keeping the girl

1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so, 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

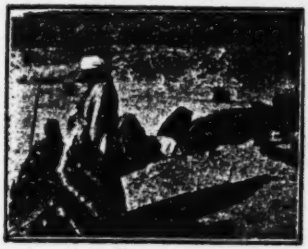
"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 607

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/



[291]

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

Chapter VI

Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ , is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one," he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer. 802

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines. 516 521

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met. 487 823

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed from the Arabic and changed. 177 192 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek," corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms." It is said that this name means "zekkat" ةكز , or "legal alms."

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This means "the black month." Here is why this month is so called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the 773 776 805

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

231
415
284

Fig. 90. Tuareg dogs of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhami*); (3) a very slender and elegantly
[173] built greyhound (*oska*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*oska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[171] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and
[521] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[541] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.